241

Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [237] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

241 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
514 night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though
231 this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
514 the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in any village.

241 Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often
[482] placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
[463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used
[19] in Okinawa. "How night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the
[117] war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. 283 One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about Y40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. 791 [212] The sign of the fortune teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from Y40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 794 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

798 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 [796] 782 778 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the toilet.

Children do
415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[716] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[841] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

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storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters.

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots.

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity.

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds.

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again.

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention.

871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 5% of Taira's population.

872 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
346 where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary
[871] school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be-
● [514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

855 863 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however, they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face. "She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls, drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned. (The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty." As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

864 854 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker.

852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter, pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

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* Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings.
[593] They are told that their necks will hurt, that are not strong enough,
[155] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy burden from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the
866 plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
● 514 child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he attains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually
[887] restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered with a slotted wooden board or loose planks. 863 [514]

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter. [291]

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from enuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 5 years old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

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[For information on health and sanitation, see also Category 751.]

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[514] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
[178] nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[534] tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neighboring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him to Naha. The 'musunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near the house, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[514] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
[237] night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added, and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

[177] Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

847 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young
783 woman her husband had been awa for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year
854 and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult foods, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechew food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defe-
[SM] cate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment.
[178] This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kijimunaa. [775] [796] The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep". [171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 171 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails [302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages [834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does [703] not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 834 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming [153] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts [514] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately [515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese. 291 834 [515] [826]

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite. 178 304

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay. 301 [772]

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment. 177 832 [305] [302] [241]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer. 514 • [863] [241]

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean 192

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to "take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication of the persistence of such relationships. 838 [858]

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible". Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation. 834 864

2. Sanitation

An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney. Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come flying out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them to dry in the sun. Flies light on them. 731 512 [514] [515] [264] [351] [264]

The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a platform over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 751 514 343

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
364 to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
151 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
354 spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
825 it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

264 Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out
315 onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the
757 mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper
753 places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
753 damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much
296 exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of cleanliness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory.
351 Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
514 lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.